PAST & PRESENT OF INDIA

NARAYAN RAGHUNATHJEE

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A GLANCE

AT THE

PAST AND PRESENT OF INDIA;

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SEPOY REVOLT.

A LECTURE

READ AT THE UNITED STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION, IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1857.

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BY

NARAYAN RAGHUNATHJEE.

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TO

DR. BHAWOO DAJEE,

ZEALOUS PROMOTER OF NATIVE EDUCATION;

I DEDICATE THIS LECTURE

IN TOKEN

OF UNCHANGED AFFECTION AND ESTEEM.

N. RAGHUNATHJEE.

A GLANCE

AT THE

PAST AND PRESENT OF INDIA &c.

I embrace the present opportunity to discuss a subject which ought to elicit and command general interest. Considering the magnitude and practical importance of the subject, I shall not be thought unreasonable if I crave more than usual attention. I intend in these pages to pencil a sketch of the Past and Present of India, to point out the incalculable advantages that we have derived from the British Rule, and to contrast it with the tyrannical sway of the Mahomedan and Native princes and rulers. In making this comparison we shall see as we go along the causes that retard or accelerate the melioration or degeneracy of man. The great problems in the science of politics, which the wisdom of the most eminent of the British Diplomatists has solved, remained shrouded in mystery, to unravel which an Aurungzebe, a Tamerlane, a Nadirshaw, a Shewajee and a host of others, who were addicted to massacre, rapine and

devastation did not take the least pains. We wanted the virtues of a Fenelon, the wisdom of a Richeleau, the vehement declamations of a Fox, the burning eloquence of a Burke and the independent spirit and philosophic genius of a Locke to construct the machinery of Government on the purest principles of justice.

The task that I have undertaken is very arduous. I feel the difficulty and to cope with it requires more than an ordinary share of learning. Full justice would have been done to the subject had it been undertaken by an abler hand than mine. However I shall do my best. I feel warranted to devote more than ordinary space to the full elucidation of the subject. Allow me to give you first a rapid but brief sketch of the past of India.

India is bounded on the North by the Himalay'a Mountains whose towering pinnacles pierce the clouds and are capped with eternal snow; on the East and West it is washed by the waves of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea and on the South by the Indian Ocean. Its ocean-like rivers which girdle its extensive plains intersperse the country on every side. It contains every range of climate from the torrid heat to the vivifying cold of the ice-bound North.

The author of "India and the Gospel" truly observes "to what part soever of God's works we turn our eyes, we are entranced by all that is beautiful, grand, and gorgeous. At the same time we behold nothing diminutive or insignificant. The plains of India are oceanic: they seem interminable. Its hills are mountains: its mountains transcend the clouds. Its shrubs are trees: its trees are incipient forests: its forests are impassable frontiers. Its streams are rivers: its rivers are as seas. The rills which run down the mountains in silvery lines, become mighty torrents, and inundate the plains." The sun travels through the heavens in unequalled majesty and sheds forth his glittering rays on the tops of the Dhawalagiri and arrays nature in new robes of gracefulness. The silvery tressed—moon, the mild illuminator of the night, walks gently and casts her dim light on the crystal and murmuring brooks when the whole nature around is in profound silence.

> And duly the admiring moon at night,
> Sheds her white glory there,
> And in the watery air,
> Suspends her halocrowns of silvery light.

The feathered songsters decked with gaudy colors make the air resound like the rapturous songs of Seraphs with their melodious tones.

Such is the enchanting scenery of this interesting country.

Blumenbach and other equally eminent physiologists after a careful and cautious induction of facts of unquestionable character are of opinion that the Hindus belong to the Caucasian race the same stock from which the Europeans have sprung. We know from the remnants of history that have escaped the general shipwreck of time that at a time out of memory, Hindustan was a civilized country in the world. It was the cradle of arts and sciences. It was a constant place of resort to those ancient personages who have rendered their names immortal in the glowing pages of history. The most eminent and erudite oriental scholars, who have indefatigably and successfully laboured in the extensive field of recondite sanscrit lore and to whom the world is indebted for the solution of some of the most difficult problems in the philosophy of history which would have remained unsolved up to this time, had they not devoted their talents and their energies for their elucidation, have unfolded some sublime truths respecting the origin of the Hindus, their manners and customs, their literature and religion.

Before the entrance of the British into India,

the Brahmins the repositories of the Hindu Faith, had the sole right to unlock the treasures of knowledge, and it was considered a most flagrant crime in a Brahmin to read works written in this language in the ears of other people. The British enlightenment has proved a match for the bigotry and priestcraft that had reared their towering heads for 3000 years. The ever memorable name of Sir William Jones the "prince and pioneer of oriental literature" whom Dr. Johnson fitly calls the literary colossus of the 18th Century was the first man to bring to the notice of the European public the hidden treasures of Sanscrit literature. When he set his foot on the classic soil of India, he burst out in this sublime strain "It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia which has been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the mistress of, delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and Government, in the laws, manners, customs and languages as well as in the features and complexions of men." He ascribes extra-Indian origin to the Hindus

and is of opinion that they came somewhere from Iran, and future researches have confirmed this theory. In this opinion he is supported by Professor Lassen, Dr. Roth, Dr. Bournouff, Adelung, Col. James Vans Kennedy, Horace Hayman Wilson &c. remarkable for the profundity and originality of their thoughts, deep erudition and extensive researches. To the Hindus in general and Brahmins in particular this appears extremely strange and paradoxical. But when eminent scholars of different shades and opinions unanimously agree on this delicate point, they must have some reason to show in support of their theory. Let us see what the grounds are:

I. From the Sanhitas of the Rigveda composed most probably some 12 or 13 centuries before Christ and translated into English by Professor Wilson it appears that the Dasyus or the barbarian race were the aboriginal inhabitants of India. But a more intelligent people called the A'ryas, a white complexioned race who lived in Ariana of the Greeks, Aryan of the Parsees and Iran of the English, undertook a crusade for the purpose of proselytizing these aboriginals. They gained an ascendancy over these Dasyus who were obliged either to conceal themselves in the

jungles or submit to their authority. The A'ryas settled themselves in the country of the Punjaub and gradually extended their conquest and compelled the Mahars, Mangs, Ramoshies, Ghonds, Khonds &c., after a severe struggle to seek an asylum in mountain fastnesses.*

II. The religion of the aboriginals does not bear the slightest resemblance to the exotic plant of Brahminism. They are devil worshippers and do not consider the cow as sacred; while all those who follow Brahminism or the religion of the A'ryas pay divine adoration to that animal.

III. The Third proof that the Brahmins were not the indigenous inhabitants of India is that they ask for a hundred waters, "a boon" says Professor Wilson "not likely to have been desired by the Natives of a warm climate."†

These A'ryas or Northern race were an intelligent people and by the din of conquest and superiority of intellect they laid under contribution a very large portion of this beautiful country. The war instruments of these people were clubs, darts, arrows and war chariots. It is said that they once took possession of 100 cities. Their manner of living was simple and unobtrusive. The treatment they gave to their females was

* Appendix A. † Appendix B.

kind and they considered them as companions and not as the mere instruments of satisfying their sensual appetites. The system of caste, which has proved a stumbling block to human improvement, did not then exist. No mention is made of Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and Shudras except that of the Brahmins who existed not as a distinct caste, but only as an office. Persons who were employed for sacrificing animals and pouring oblations of the Soma Juice were called Brahmans. Sometimes this office was bestowed upon princes. Vishwametre though a Kshetree had the privilege of offering sacrifices. The worship was purely elementary. The personification of the natural appearances constituted the theology of the more ancient books.

The A'ryas who settled in India had a very refined language known by the name of Sanscrit. According to the orientalists it is cognate with the Zend and the Pehlvi. Sir William Jones most elaborately observes that "the Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either." Mr. Halhead another scholar states that "the grand source of Indian Literature the parent of almost every dialect from

the Persian Gulf to the Chinese seas is Sanscrit, a language of the most venerable and unfathomable antiquity which although is at present shut up in the Libraries of Brahmins and appropriated solely to the records of their religion, appears to have been current over most of the oriental world ; and traces of its original extent may still be discovered almost in every part of Asia." In this sublime tongue are written the ancient works of the Hindus which, on account of their obscurity, have passed as the repositories of the Divine oracle. The sacred writings of the Hindus are very numerous and Sir William Jones was perfectly right when he said, that, wherever we direct our attention to Hindu Literature the notion of infinity presents itself. Some of the portions of the Vedas contain refined ideas and exalted notions of God, of his unity and his attributes. "Strictly speaking" says the author of the Hindu Pantheon "the religion of the Hindus is monotheism. They worship God in unity and express the divine being and his attributes in the most awful and sublime terms. God thus adored is Brahm the one eternal mind, the self-existing incomprehensible spirit. The Vedas strictly enjoin of him whose glory is so great,

there is no image." Though we may find such isolated passages scattered here and there yet we know that Hinduism is unflinchingly pantheistic. When its authors theorize on matter and spirit, they show their intellect to be fertile, but subtle, and capacious.* We read of the atoms of Epicurus, archetypes of Plato, monads of Leibnitz, the spiritual intuition of Newman, the subjective principle of Fichte, the objective realism of Schelling, and the absolute idealism of Hegel; and all these have been found stored up in the sacred writings of the Hindus. The Vedanta inculcates that in Brahma the whole world is absorbed, from him it issues, he is entwined and interwoven with all creation." "All that exists is God, whatever we smell or taste or see or hear or feel is the supreme being." Pantheism, gross and sensual as it became afterwards, contained the germ of Polytheism with its 330 millions of gods and demigods which disfigure the pages of the Purans which are full of monstrously absurd philosophy and dreadful, irrational, man-degrading and God-dishonoring theology. They have tended to a very fearful extent to darken and prostrate the noble intellect of man and to demoralize him. They

* Appendix (C.)

confused their brains with such abstruse problems in the science of Psychology and Ontology as are beyond the ken of man's reason to investigate and his finite intellect to grasp. They were ignorant of the oracular voice of genuine philosophy, thus far shalt thou go and no further. Had they known the Baconian path of inductive philosophy, they would not have entered into the most intricate labyrinths of fruitless enquiries. In the ethical or moral science we find instructive maxims and elevated morality, scattered here and there, like sweet shrubs modestly peeping through thick jungles or a gem of great price sending forth its lustre through an enormous accumulation of Coals. Greece may boast of its Zeno, its Socrates, its Plato, its Aristotle and Aristides; Rome of its Numa, its Senecca, its Cato and its Cicero, China of its Confuscius, but India outrivals and outshines them all. She has eclipsed their fame.

The ancient Hindus had made wonderful progress in physical and mathematical sciences. It is true that they appear mere pigmies when we take into consideration the discoveries and inventions made by the Europeans within the last two hundred years. The age, we live in, is decidedly an age of improvement. But when we

take into consideration the time when the Hindus made such wonderful progress in these branches of human knowledge, whilst the rest of the world was merged in barbarism with a few exceptions, it is a most remarkable fact that they, without the aid of any of those optical instruments to which the Europeans are indebted for the extension of their knowledge in the science of matter, should have been so exact and accurate in their calculations of the heavenly bodies. Professor Royle, in his XI Lecture delivered at the Great Exhibition of 1851, a most brilliant era in the annals of the word's history, thus writes: "In the mathematical sciences the Hindus were acquainted with the decimal notation by nine digits and zero. In algebra Mr. Colebrooke found reason to conclude that the Greeks were far behind the Hindus. In Geometry, they were acquainted with the proposition that the square of the hypotenuse of the right angled triangle is equal to the squares of the sides containing the right angle. The circumference of the circle they divided into 360 equal parts and each of these into 60 others and so on similar to our division into degrees, minutes and seconds. The rates of the diameter to the circumference they supposed to

be as 1 to 3·1460, and though the Chinese required first the Arabs and then the Jesuits to assist them in settling the true number of days in the year, the Hindus conceived it to consist of 365 days, 5 hours, 30 minutes and 40 seconds, a determination which (as David Brewster says) differs only one minute and 33 seconds from that which is employed in the new solar tables of Delambre."

However it is curious to find that in the infinity of Hindu Literature, there is an entire absence of authentic history, if by history is meant a collection of facts or events. In the absence of authentic history it is next to impossible to depict, with accuracy and exactness (which are the essential ingredients of history properly so called), their social and political condition. The epic poems viz. the Ramayan and Mahabharut reflect much light on the then existing state of the Hindus, just as the Illiad and Odyssey of Homer throw light on the state of the Greeks and the Trojans of that remote period. But we must bear in mind that strictly poetry is not history. If that were the case, we should be required to believe that there were men with 10 heads and 20 hands or some such numerous myths. Authentic history first saw

the light not amongst those who could speculate profoundly on matter and soul, but in the land of the Jews. Herodotus, the father of profane history, just flourished when the Jewish history closed.

Whatever may have been the boasted civilization of India, this much is certain that, it did not last long. Civilization without an interchange and intercommunication of new ideas and new thoughts cannot last long but only remains stationary. As the intercourse with other nations extends, when an opportunity is presented for infusing into society fresh vigour and new life, nations advance in the scale of intelligence. It is a truth universally admitted that, man must grow either better or worse. Immutability is not his characteristic attribute. The same law holds true with regard to nations. Hindu civilization, having remained isolated for a considerable period, instead of progressing, retarded and degenerated. Why does European civilization thrive so well? There is that healthy moral stamina which supports it and gives it a vigour and a strength unknown to the ancient world. There were already lurking seeds of corruption in the Hindu Society which afterwards were burst open by grinding despotism

and abject and time-honored superstition: this unhinged the whole fabric of National Institutions, civil, political and religious being reared as they were upon the shortsighted views of lawgivers and ministers who wielded the power they were intrusted with, or rather which they had usurped to serve their mercenary and sordid motives. Eagle-eyed and philosophic statesmen there were none who like Cecils, Bacons, Burkes, Pitts, Cannings and Foxes, possessing vigorous and clear intellects capable of penetrating through the dismal and distant future and projecting schemes to counteract the pending evils which were predestined to fall with a tremendous force on Society, could coldly embark on the stormy elements of political debates. When such was the case, superstition and despotism were mightily doing their work.

The surrounding nations inflamed by a desire to enrich themselves by the gold, the jewels, the silk and spiceries of India fitted out expeditions to exhaust the country of its mineral wealth which

Showered o'er her kings, barbaric pearl and gold.

Solomon the king of the Israelites who flourished 1015 years before Christ had fitted out a number of ships to obtain commodities

from the "coral strands" of India to decorate his temple, the most magnificent building in the world. The Syrians, the Egyptians and the Phœnicians carried, on a very extensive scale, trade with this country. They drained India of its valuable treasures of gold, diamonds and emeralds. Had it not been for the valuable wealth of India which poured in profusion into the lap of these nations, Venice, Palmyra and Tyre, which rose from dim obscurity to the proudest pre-eminence, whose merchants were said to be princes and whose fame was wafted to the ends of the earth, would never have figured themselves in the pages of history. According to Herodotus the first Darius invaded India about 500 years B. C. and carried the then reigning Hindu Emperor prisoner into Persia. When the reports reached Alexander the Great of the inexhaustible treasures of India, his restless and ambitious disposition prompted him to undertake a military expedition to India. He achieved a victory over Porus king of the Punjaub, but his victories did not effect any permanent change and left merely an impression as evanescent as a dream on the minds of the people. The Bactrians then entered Hindustan, conquerred the Greeks, took from them the

territories they had subdued and founded an Empire B. C. 250. The country was thus harassed by foreign conquest and the effect of these invasions and perpetual contentions was, that they paralyzed the energies and famished the condition of the inhabitants.

The Moghuls and Mussulmans ushered in with their grinding despotism and wonted fanaticism, and like a direful epidemic spread desolation and death wherever they went, sparing neither sex nor age. History is a faithful mirror and reveals to us facts of such an awful nature that our humanity shudders and shrinks back. What a picture to conceive! Let us open History and see what revelations it makes of these people and their Government. About 800 years ago, i. e. in the year of Christ 1000, Mohammed of Ghiznee invaded Hindustan twelve different times, and at each time he is said to have carried immense treasures of gold, jewels &c. and spread depredation and all its concomitant evils. In his fifth expedition he carried 700 maunds of gold and silver plate, 40 maunds of pure gold, 2000 maunds of silver bullion and 20 maunds of jewel. If he carried this immense wealth in one expedition, how immeasurably great must be the whole of his spoils. The family

of Ghiznee was destroyed by Mohammed Gori whose uncle Alla invaded India in nine expeditions. The wealth he amassed by plunder and rapine was 500 maunds in diamond alone. When he captured Benares he loaded 400 camels with the spoils compelling the inhabitants to embrace the Mahometan faith. The Afghan dynasty under its representative Cuttub overthrew the Mussulmans in Delhi. So common became the carnage at this time that fifty or one hundred thousand were ordered to be massacred like animals. Ferishta the Historian alluding to these wholesale massacres observes, "Clemency is a "virtue which descends from God, but the dege- "nerate children of India did not deserve it. There "was no security to be found in any place; the "streets, the highways were infested by banditti. "House-breaking, robbery, murder and every "other species of villainy and crime became a "business all over the Empire; insurrections were "heard of in every province; numerous gangs of "robbers stopped all commerce and intercourse, "and the Nabobs refused or neglected to send "any account of their revenues or administra- "tions."

These wholesale butcheries and untold miseries were not confined to one part, but extended

to the length and breadth of India. Dowlutabad a strong fortress in the Deccan was plundered of 600 maunds of pure gold, 7 maunds of pearls, 2 maunds of diamonds, rubies &c., 1000 maunds of silver and 4000 pieces of silk and the Brahmins were massacred by thousands. Ferishta says that not even weeping mothers nor the smiling infants at their breasts were either pitied or spared. Nadirshaw another monster of cruelty when he invaded Delhi ordered most diliberately to massacre in one day 100,000 people without regard to sex or age in the cold blood. Mahomed son of Alladin the Conqueror of Southern India imbrued his hands in the blood of 500,000 souls and depopulated the whole of Carnatic. Our hearts recoil at the recital of such deeds of carnage. About this time that is 1300 A. D. when Mahomed III. the Emperor of Delhi laid waste the Deccan, the taxes says Ferishta "were so heavily imposed and exacted with such rigour and cruelty by the Officers of the revenue that the whole extent of that fertile country between the two rivers Ganges and Jumna was particularly oppressed." This is not an exaggerated statement. It is the unimpeachable testimony of their own historian in no way prepossessed in favour of the British and

the British Government. His is the language which truth has extorted from him. The historian may boast of the mild administration of an Acbar and a Balin, may style these emperors just and good and may assert that they gained the affections of their subjects by the introduction of an enlightened system of Government, but nevertheless their fame is not transmitted to posterity unsullied. But considering the age they flourished in, and the influences that were brought to bear upon them from their childhood, we may perhaps palliate their crimes, but never pardon them as some men would have us to do.

The same lawless and despotic spirit was exhibited by the Native Rulers with this difference that the Mahometans were guided by a pure fanatical spirit, while the others exclusively by a desire of plunder and bloodshed. The Native Rulers thought that Government was a machinery constructed for the sole purpose of domineering over the minds and bodies of the people. They had no laws to regulate the administration of public affairs and restrain their lawless desire of plunder. It is I think quite superfluous to descend into particulars. I shall however make some passing observations. The public career of Shewajee, the founder of the

Maharastra Empire, and terror of the Mahometans in his days of prosperity is marked by uninterrupted series of warfare and depredation. His successors were no better than a gang of robbers. In after times when the subordinate officers the Peishwas, the Guicowars, the Scindias and the Nabobs became powerful by wringing from the people the last mite they could get, established separate governments and adopted the most rigorous measures to augment the revenue by levying exorbitant taxes. It is recorded of Chickdev, Raja of Mysore, who flourished about the end of the 17th Century that he levied about 20 new taxes on his subjects, one of which was on " opening the door."

The whole country of Hindustan from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin was filled with Pindarees, Looties, Bheels, Thugs, Dacoits &c., who did the greatest mischief imaginable. Some of the Pindaree chiefs were at the head of 20 or 30 thousand horse and marched into every nook and corner of the land marauding and destroying the crops. The people were obliged on this account to conceal their treasuries in the ground. The grand object of Government is to protect the persons and property of its subjects. But here the Rulers

themselves were the greatest marauders. The history of India establishes beyond a shadow of doubt the great truth that superstition and despotism are inseperably connected together.*

Let me now direct your attention to the establishment of the British Power in India and the incalculable advantages that we have derived from its just and humane administration. The line of policy the most generous pursued by this most powerful and highly favoured nation is eminently calculated to promote the main designs of Government, viz., to give security to the life and property of the members of the community, to promote industry and to produce the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It is a great wonder that a more handful of people living at a great distance in an island which boasts of no territorial aggrandizement should extend their dominion over a country whose area is sixteen times as great as that of their own together with that of Scotland and Ireland and teems with 150 millions of people. "The British Empire in India," says Archibald Allison, "forms beyond all questions the most dazzling object in that age of wonders—perhaps the most extraordinary

* Appendix (D.)

phenomenon in the history of the species." The Englishmen first set their foot in India as a body of mercantile adventurers during the reign of Queen Elizabeth who granted the first charter of incorporation of the East India Company on the 31st December 1600. Two years afterwards that is in 1612 the Court of Delhi permitted them to establish a factory at Surat. But it was not even a century and a half before they became territorial sovereigns. It was under the most unfavourable circumstances that the British Government was established in India. Long before the British Flag began to wave over this transatlantic country, the then commercial European Powers had already established their supremacy here. The Spaniards and the Portuguese were the first amongst the sovereigns of Europe who had monopolized the commerce of the Eastern world; while England was only a silent spectator of all this. But the daring and the unconquerable energy of the sturdy Saxons coupled with a desire for the gold and gems of India which every day grew larger, fired with zeal, undertook, under multifareous privations and difficulties, long and arduous voyages to participate with their more fortunate brethren in the inexhaustible riches of the

"gorgeous east." France, Holland, Spain, and Portugal had already built forts, established warehouses and carried, on a very extensive scale, commercial intercourse and political intrigues with the most formidable potentates of India. But did these things terrify the Englishmen destined to establish their all-powerful sway over this extensive tract of country and deter them from holding commercial intercourse with its people? No! Fired with emulation, a handful of mercantile adventurers established themselves in India and by an extraordinary combination of circumstances laid the foundation of victories of the most brilliant kind. They were brought in collision with the Native and Mahometan powers and consequently were obliged to meet them in the battle fields. The Rajahs of Bengal and Bahar on the North, the warlike Mahrattas on the West, the Rajah of Mysore on the South, the Nizam on the East, besides these, the haughty and fiery Rajpoots and Seikhs, the formidable Goorkhas and Nepaulese tribes, were ever ready to crush the rising power of the Britons in India. But the unparalleled series of successes signalized the efforts of the English in the East, and Native potentates were struck with awe and clearly

saw that the numerical strength of their own army could not encounter the disciplined army of the Britons. Despotism, fanaticism and superstition must give way before civilization. Lord Clive "whose name" says one of the most eminent of British critics "stands high on the roll of conquerors," laid the foundation of the British supremacy in India. He had to encounter formidable enemies, Europeans and Natives. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, could not brook to see Englishmen flourish, and nerved to every struggle to put down the growing power of Britain. He sketched out plans the most gigantic to add India to the empire of France. But the bold stroke of Clive's Policy and his farseeing wisdom defeated the objects of the French compatriot. His daring character and vigorous administration gained for him the most wonderful series of successes. Sowjah Dowlah another powerful of the Native Chiefs used his utmost endeavours to check the growth of English Power. The battle at Plassey however decided the fate of India. This most remarkable of the battles asserted the felt supremacy of the Britons. The moral impression this brilliant campaign left upon the minds of the people was lasting and secured for the English

all the countries on the river Ganges. Since this period dates the establishment of the British Empire in India. A series of British heroes and conquerors added territories after territories both by conquest and treaties to England's dominion till they absorbed the whole of India. Men like Lord Cornwallis, Marquis of Hastings, Marquis of Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, Lord Lake, whose vast mental resources and statesmanlike wisdom contributed to the aggrandizement of the British supremacy in India, have raised England to the pitch of grandeur and glory. India is truly a precious jewel in the crown of Queen Victoria.*

What a great privilege we enjoy that we are brought in contact with the most powerful and enlightened nation on the globe. India was growing for centuries under grinding despotism. There was no security to life and property. Confusion, disorder, tyranny, plunder and murders were common as *blackberries*. But under the strong arm of British Government we have done away with these things. There is comparative peace and order ; and it has been truly said that order is heaven's first law. There is no Government in the world so favourable to

(* Appendix E.)

all liberty, civil, political, social and religious as the British. We all know of the despotism of Russia, whose emperors look upon their subjects as degraded slaves, the unconstitutional character of the Austrian Government purely military and supported by arms, the everchanging and revolutionary character of the ficklemínded Frenchmen, the bigotted and persecuting nature of Italian and Spanish Governments. Whereas the machinery of the British Government is constructed on broad principles of human nature and is not to be tossed to and fro by the passion of overheated imagination. Sir William Jones a very great authority observes, " The original form of our constitution is almost divine ; to such a degree that no state of Rome or Greece could ever boast one superior to it ; nor could Plato, Aristotle, nor any legislator, even conceive a more perfect model of state. The *three parts* which compose it are so harmoniously blended and incorporated, that neither the flute of Aristoxemus nor the lyre of Timotheus ever produced more perfect concord." To establish a representative Government and free Institutions in India is impracticable and impolitic in the present low state of the Hindu Society. The minds of its inhabitants must be

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elevated, their morals raised and their hearts purified before they are invested with municipal rights and political privileges. They ought as a nation to grow in intelligence and knowledge before they strive to become a free people.

He is the freeman whom truth makes free,
And all are slaves besides.

No Hindu of Orthodox stamp can say of the Native Government like Sir William Jones. "Our laws are framed with the greatest wisdom, and as Pindar, quoted by Plato in his Gorgias says,

Sov'reign o'er all, eternal Law,
On gods and men imposes awe ;
And justice, strengthen'd by her hand,
O'er all exerts supreme command.

England in her attempt to become free had to carry on bloody wars. Her illustrious sons and daughters, for centuries, panted, fought, struggled and bled nobly for liberty—sweet liberty and their posterity now enjoys its fruits.

True Liberty,
First born of virtue ! daughter of the skies.
Nursling of truth divine ! sister of all
The graces, meekness, holiness and love.

May we not now claim the Liberty of Conscience and the Liberty of Press the great pioneers of civilization and noble monuments of British wisdom reared as they have been on the

foundation of unchanging and unchangeable Truth as our common birth-right though denied to us for centuries past by our own Rajahs ?

Hence it is not to be inferred that the British form of Government is the most perfect, that it is incapable of improvement. Any Institution that claims a human origin must be imperfect in the very nature of the thing. The British Government with all its faults is the best Government that India ever had. It is best adapted to encrease wealth, capital or the means of personal comfort and develope the capabilities of the soil. That, that Government, whose main object is to gain the affections of the people by just and benevolent laws, will remain stable and permanent is a fundamental truth in the science of politics. Thus we see that so far as Government is concerned it is a powerful medium of elevating the Natives in the scale of intelligence and civilization.

We shall next consider the English language and English literature other powerful means of raising the character of the Natives.

England stands pre-eminent amongst the nations of the earth. She has spread far and wide the blessings of education and knowledge. She is eminently practical. Her common sense

philosophy has wrought wonders more astounding than Aladin's lamp. She is fertile in Heroes, Statesmen, Warriors, Philosophers, Reformers and Poets. How many hundreds in India are assiduously engaged in learning her language that breathes freedom and independence, a language like the lute of Apollos that tunes our soul to give utterance to lofty conception, sublime thought and devotional feelings. "Go forth" says an emiment writer "thou language of Milton and Hampden language of my country! Take possession of the North American continent! Gladden the waste places with every tone that has been rightly struck by the English lyre with every English word that has been spoken for liberty and for man! Give an echo to the now silent and solitary mountains; gush out with the fountains that as yet sing their anathems all day long without response! Fill the valleys with the voices of love in its purity, the pledges of friendship in its fidelity, and as the morning sun drinks the dewdrops from flowers all the way from the dreary Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, meet him with the joytul hum of the early industry of freemen. Utter boldly and spread widely through the world, the thoughts of the coming epoch of the

people's liberty, till the sound that cheers the desert shall thrill through the heart of humanity, and the lips of the messenger of the people's power as he stands upon the mountain, shall proclaim the renovating tidings of equal freedom to the race."

What student that is here present is not familiar with the name of the never-to-be-forgotten Bacon, the founder and father of modern philosophy and the prince of philosophers whose amplitude of intellect and inexhaustible mental resources are proverbial. The rules which he has laid down of philosophising in his immortal work Novum Organum have made the deserts fruitful gardens. Sir Isaac Newton, the "High Priest of Nature" of whom the great Halley had said,

So near the gods, man cannot nearer go.

has made wonderful discoveries in the material world. Following the tract which Bacon had pointed out he has carried the line and the plummet to the outskirts of creation. John Locke, an original and deep thinker, breathed into philosophy a spirit of independence which had been hitherto trammelled by the vain dogmas of the schoolmen. Shakespeare, Milton, Cowper, Thompson, Pope amongst poets; Herschell,

Davy, Brewster, and Faraday amongst Philosophers; Wickliffe, Ridley Cranmer amongst Reformers; Wilberforce, Howard, Buxton, Clarkeson, Miss Nightingale amongst Philanthropists; Wellington, Nelson and Napier amongst Warriors; and a host of others in various departments of knowledge have infused into society fresh vigour and healthy moral influences. It has been correctly observed that a "nation's greatness is seen in nation's authors." Independence in thinking is the characteristic mark of a free nation, and we have here produced a series of writers whose talents were of the first order, and who were the ornaments of human nature and the pride of the country in which they were born. Their names are written in capitals of gold on the imperishable monuments of fame. To converse with such master minds and imbibe their noble principles and lofty conceptions is a great privilege we enjoy.

Of late Government have done much to diffuse the blessings of education amongst the teeming millions of India because they are fully aware that education is a powerful means of elevating this country. In the late despatch on education from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, remarkable for its ability and liberality of sentiments

they thus observe : "Among many subjects of importance, none have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means as far as in us lies of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. For although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralizing practices and even crimes of a deeper dye which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the Native mind which the advance of education alone can secure." In this extraordinary document is contained the germ of national Education. Let truth, truth intellectual and truth moral, once take deep root in the minds of the people and all the blessings which lie buried in the womb of time will flow in abundance, and change the whole aspect of the country. The victory that education will achieve over superstition and ignorance is far nobler than the victory ever

gained by the English at Sebastopol and Inkerman. We thus see that English literature is destined to exert a salutary influence upon the mind and morals of the people.

There are a hundred other advantages we enjoy under our present Government which the Native Rulers were incapable of conferring upon their subjects. The enlightened system of commerce has been introduced. We have now encreased facilities for communication and exchange by means of Steam Engines, Railways, Roads, Canals and Bridges. There is no doubt that all the influences, which are brought to bear upon the minds of the people through the instrumentality of a vigorous administration, will produce the desired effects. Let us show ourselves worthy and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen Victoria and pray to God that her sway may continue undisturbed until we rise as a nation and prove ourselves worthy to rule this great country.

In the face of so many advantages, it is very strange to find that there should be people who have eaten Company Bahadoor's salt heedlessly and wickedly ready to subvert their authority and commit the most outrageous deeds on their innocent women and smiling infants, the bare

recital of which is revolting to our feelings. I allude here to that sudden and terrible outbreak of the Native Regiments in the North-West-Provinces which has excited the alarm of the whole civilized world. We would have been the last persons to believe if anybody had told us some nine months ago that the Sepoys of the Bengal Regiments would mutiny against their rulers with an avowed purpose of subverting their authority, and perpetrate the most fiendish deeds on their unoffended women and innocent kiths and kins. Everywhere was tranquility and peace, but to our great surprize we have found that we are in the midst of terror and alarm. Whatever may be the sins of commission and omission of the rulers of our country which are incidental to every human administration, we cannot gloss over the atrocities, treacheries and wholesale murders that have been committed by the mutineers and rebels. The question naturally occurs to oneself what must be the cause of the disaffection of these Sepoys which has spread itself like wildfire throughout a very large portion of this extensive country. Whatever may have been the *remote causes* of these disturbances, the *immediate occasion* was the ser-

ving out the cartridges greased with pigs' and cows' fat, which seemed seriously to outrage the feelings and religious prejudices of the sepoys. They were labouring under a false impression that Government had resolved to trample down their own religion and force upon their minds its own faith—Christianity. The 19th Regiment at Barrackpore took the lead in the matter and refused to use the greased cartridges. They were disbanded. Thus let loose they excited their *Bhailokes* to rise against their officers, burn their tents and destroy their lives. The two Regiments of the Infantry and one of the Cavalry then mutinied at Meerut. They all retreated to Delhi where they were joined by three other Regiments. A similar spirit was manifested at Ferozepoor higher up in the North West. Having destroyed the Europeans in Delhi they elected a mock sovereign. The other Sepoys, finding their wicked brethren thus flushed with success and in the possessisn of the enormous wealth of the Sirkar, caught the infection, mutinied against their Officers and fled to Delhi for protection and shelter. Delhi, we must remember, is a strong city seven miles in circumference with twelve gates. Thus it became the focus of the power and strength of

the mutineers. Now they thought that they would succeed in subverting the authority of the British Government and once more in regaining the possession of their long lost empire in India. Had not Lieutenant Willoughby blown up the Magazine at Delhi, the mutineers would have taken possession of the inexhaustible stores of powder, ammunition and ordnance it contained and thus would have become too powerful to yield so easily as they have done to the British Arms. This Lieutenant Willoughby foresaw and his devoted heroism prompted him to blow up the Magazine at the sacrifice of his own precious life. Noble death indeed ! What indomitable courage and what service to the cause of humanity and civilization ! The large province of Oude only recently joined to the British Government during the administration of Lord Dalhousie burst into open mutiny the smouldering embers of discontent and thus made the conflagration at Delhi tenfold more dreadful and dire. Sir Henry Lawrence the chief Commissioner foresaw the imminent danger to which he and his countrymen were exposed and wisely made preparations for meeting the enemy. When the foe did come he boldly and manly defended Lucknow for a long period. But alas !

when the mutineers began to pour in large numbers he had a severe action with them and when nobly fighting he received a shot which proved mortal. In him India lost one of her ablest statesman and her greatest benefactor. "He was distinguished" says the Government Notification "for high ability, devoted zeal and generous and self denying exertions for the welfare of those around him. As a soldier, an administrator and a statesman he has earned a reputation among the foremost. * * * The loss of such a man in the present circumstances of India is indeed a heavy public calamity."

To give a long catalogue of crimes of the deepest dye perpetrated by the mutineers on the Europeans is a very painful task that has devolved upon me. What young man that is here present will not be stirred up in his spirit at the recital of a series of treacheries and perfidies committed by Nana Saheb and his comrades?

Who is this Nana Saheb ? He is one of the descendants of the Peishwas. He has received a tolerably good education. "This man we are informed" says the Bengal Hurkaru "until within a few months porfessed the greatest delight in European Society ; he used to go out shooting with the officers and invited them to fetes at Bi-

thoor. And yet the moment fortune seems to cease to smile on the British interests he treacherously murdered those whom he feasted and earns a character for barbarous cruelty which no age or country can rival." The tragedy at Cawnpoor and Bithoor is one of those events which cannot be treated with levity. By order of Major General Wheeler Commanding the Cawnpoor Division the English Officers including ladies and children about 600 in number were protected in an entrenchment previous to the mutineers having commenced their destructive operations. For 22 days they remained in the entrenchments without fresh provision and water. They were obliged to propose terms of peace. Nana Saheb solemnly promised to have them conveyed safely to Allahabad. They were put into Boats on the 26th June last and on the 15th July they were all ordered by Nana Saheb to be killed. On the next morning when he came on the spot and having found some wounded ladies and children alive they were thrown into the well along with the dead. Such is the Cawnpore Tragedy. Any man who has a grain of common sense will be horrified at these cold-blooded and wholesale murders. It is no wonder that the English nation should have been roused

with indignation when reports from India reached them of the atrocities and treacheries committed on their women and children. How could parents see their own children cut into pieces and their flesh shoved into their throats? How could a husband see his own partner in life, the sharer of his sympathies and his fellow pilgrim to the land of rest violated most outrageously and then cut into pieces ! How could an Englishman bear to hear the wonderful escape of a Mrs Leeson from Delhi who made the soldiers shed tears of pity when they heard the tale of woe she related to them. The picture is too dark, and it is next to impossible to write at any length upon this painful subject without doing an immense injury to one's own feelings.

My ear is pained,
My soul is sick with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage.

Had not timely succour been obtained there would not have remained a single European to tell the tale of woe to his countrymen at home.

The illustrious and best of England's sons able to grapple with the exigency of the crisis have been sent on the field of action whose vigorous policy has done a great deal to strike terror into the hearts of the mutineers. The presence of Sir Colin Campbell , Generals Mansfield and

Windham of Crimean celebrity will no doubt in the long run tend to extirpate the mutinous spirit from off India. The Mutineers looked to Delhi as the place of refuge. But it has at last fallen. The 20th of September 1857 will be the most memorable day in the history of India, for on that day, the head of the mutiny was severed from the body.

We omitted to make mention of Brigadier General Havelock whose name stands the first and foremost on the list of the heroes that have figured this time and whose gallantry and zeal have been conspicuously displayed on the present emergency. He is a right man in the right place. It was he who took back Cawnpoor and relieved the garrison of Lucknow. The series of brilliant victories he has achieved have won for him a meed of applause from the whole of the civilized world. He carries with him the good will of all those who are interested in the cause of the enlightenment of India.

It may be asked had not the executive authorities any knowledge of this deep-laid plot? Yes. This only the few could foresee and when the few did give out what they feared, they were laughed at. The Government had so much confidence in the character of the uneducated

Sepoy. The mutiny cannot be the work of a day or two or of one or two individuals. The Bengal Army was rotten at the very core. There was something radically wrong in it.

1st. It was not better officered.

2nd. There was no proper discipline.

3rd. The prejudices of the Sepoys were pampered.

4th. The right of joinng the army was confined to the men of High Caste.

Out of 83,946 men who constituted the Bengal Army, 12,699 were intolerant and fanatic Mussulmans, 27,283 proud Brahmins and 27,335 haughty Rajpoots, making a total of 68,017. Low Caste men were not allowed to enter the Army. They were systematically excluded simply because the high-caste Brahmins and Rajpoots did not like to commingle with them. The Officers encouraged them in these respects. How wonderful it is, that a system, which is essentially evil and which even the educated Hindus cry down, should have been upheld by the enlightened Englishmen in the 19th Century.

5th. They were kept in utter ignorance aloof from civilizing and elevating influences.

6th. The haughtiness of some of the European

Officers and the want of much intercommunication between the Sepoys and their Officers.

There were not wanting men who could penetrate with farseeing wisdom into the actual working of the Bengal Army. Sir Charles Napier had warned the Government long ago: "Take care of India, take care of our army there, rule it better and officer it better, or the day will come, and it is not far distant when there will be a mutiny and a rebellion in that country." General Anson, the late Commander-in-chief of Indian Forces had addressed the Court of Directors to send more Troops to prevent the breaking out of a mutiny, but his wàrnings were slighted.

Have the mutineers laid any charge against the executive functionaries of Government? Had they any alleged or real grievances which were not redressed? Did Government enact laws to enslave them? They have not definitively stated any thing and therefore they had no cause of complaint. Let us see what the proclamation posted up by Nana Saheb at Cawnpore states. The East India Company with the consent of the Queen are about to send thousands of European soldiers to do away with the religion of the Hindus and Mahomedans by

the distribution of cartridges, and therefore the people must make every preparation to rise against the Europeans and murder them. Thus we see that the miscreant Nana Saheb and his bloodthirsty comrades taking advantage of a very small number of European soldiers in India thought that the tide of fortune could again be turned towards them, and they would thus *again become* the masters of this great country and exercise their despotic sway over it, as once did their forefathers. But these are vain hopes.

England at this critical juncture carries with her not only our sympathies, but the sympathies of all the European Powers. Louis Napoleon sends a handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 for the relief of the families of those who have been the sufferers on account of these mutinies. Austria was ready, if necessary, to render an assistance of a Legion to go against the mutineers, but the English very wisely declined it. The Sultan of Turkey sends a munificent sum of Rs. 10,000 which fact the fanatic Sepoys, let loose like wild beasts, would do well to ponder over. The *New York Herald* writes in the following strain: "Were proper means taken to place the contest in India in a true light before the people of the

United States it is highly probable that active aid could be obtained here for the Indian Government * * * * There might doubtless be awakened a strong feeling here in favour of the British in India, and very likely with proper measure and a suitable outlay 50,000 men could be enlisted in a few weeks."

It is frequently asked what right has England to hold India in her possession? Why does she not give up the country, allow the Natives to govern for themselves and withdraw her Troops? The question is, is there any other power on earth that can rule India better than England? History points to none. Can the Hindus govern their own country better than Englishmen? Have they the necessary tact and decision of character? Ah! if Englishmen were to leave the shores of India today, tomorrow she will become a vast field of carnage, plunder and massacre. In fact the Hindu race will be extinct. The all-grasping Russia will be the first power to take possession of India. If England does this she will be guilty of a flagrant crime. She is well qualified to undertake the arduous and responsible task of disseminating the seeds of civilization and of elevating India in the scale of nations. She has already put down Suttee,

Infanticide, human sacrifices and other national evils that once infected this great land.

In conclusion, I would take this opportunity of expressing a hope that those of you who have heard me this night will try to disabuse the minds of our countrymen, uninformed as they are, and convince them by argument and fair reasoning that the present Government we live under is the best Government that we ever had. Truly our prayers ought to be that the benign sway of the British may continue undisturbed until England has fulfilled the great mission of raising the character of the Native population.

Know it then
And spread it through every vein of all your Empire
That wherever British power is felt
Mankind may feel its mercy too.—COWPER.

APPENDIX (A)

There is in Menu a faint intimation that Buddhistical opinions were beginning to exert an influence over the minds of men, in the admission that the greatest of virtues is abstinence from injury to living beings which would make his laws posterior to the 6th century B. C., but conjecturing the probable date of the heroic poems to be about the 3rd century B. C. we cannot place Menu lower than the 5th or the 6th century at least; beyond which we have the whole body of philosophical and Vaidic literature. This would carry us for the age of the Brahmana to the 7th or 8th at the least; and we cannot allow less than 4 or 5 centuries for the composition and currency of the hymns and the occurrence of those important changes both civil and religious which the Brahmana exhibits. This will bring us to the era as that which has previously been computed or about 12 or 13 centuries B. C. Mr. Colebrooke from astronomical data would give the Suktas a higher antiquity as he places their aggregation or Sukta 14 centuries B. C. a date not far from that which is here suggested—*Wilson's Introduction to Rigveda Sanhita, pages* xlvii-xlviii.

(B)

They (Aryas) appear, also to have been a fair-complexioned people at least comparatively, and foreign invaders of India, as it is said that Indra divided the fields among his white complexioned friends after destroying the indigenous barbarian races for such there can be little doubt we are to understand by the expression Dasya which so often recurs and which is often defined to signify one who not only does not perform religious rites, but attempts to disturb them and harass their performers: the latter are the Aryas the A'rya or respectable, or Hindu or Arian race. Dasya in later language, signifies a thief, a robber and A'ryas a wealthy or respectable man, but the two terms are constantly used in the text of the Veda as contrasted with each other, and as expressions of religious and political antagonists, requiring therefore no violence of conjecture to identify the Dasya with the indigenous tribes of Asia refusing to adopt the ceremonial of the A'ryas a more civilized but intrusive race, and availing themselves of every opportunity to

assail them, to carry off their cattle, disturb their rites and impede their progress ; to little purpose, it should seem as the A'ryas commanded the aid of Indra before whose thunderbolt the numerous cities or hamlets of the Dasyas were swept away—*Ibid. page* xlii.

(C)

There are six ancient schools of philosophy recognised among the Hindus. These schools are enumerated in the following order by Colebrooke.

1. The prior Mimansa, founded by Jaimanee.
2. The latter Mimansa or Vedanta attributed to Vyasa
3. The Niyaya or logical school of Gotama.
4. The atomic school of Canade.
5. The atheistical school of Capila. } Sankya.
6. The theistical school of Patanjali }

—*Elphinstone's India, page* 114.

(D)

We found society throughout that vast country (India) in a state to which history scarcely furnishes a parallel. The nearest parallel would perhaps, be the state of Europe, during the 5th century. The Mogul empire in the time of the successors of Aurungzebe, like the Roman Empire in the time of successors of Theodosius was sinking under the vices of a bad internal administration and under the assaults of barbarous invaders. At Delhi as at Ravenna, there was a mock sovereign immured in a gorgeous state prison. He was suffered to indulge in every sensual pleasure. He was adored with servile prostrations. He assumed and bestowed the most magnificent titles. But, in fact, he was a mere puppet in the hands of some ambitious subjects. While the Honori and Augustuli of the East, surrounded by their fawning eunuchs, revelled and dozed without knowing or caring what might pass beyond the walls of their palace gardens, the provinces had ceased to respect a Government which could neither punish nor protect them. Society was a chaos. Its restless and shifting elements formed themselves every moment into some new combination, which the next moment dissolved. In the course of a single generation a hundred dynasties grew up, flourished, decayed, were extinguished, were forgotten. Every adventurer who could muster a troop of horse might aspire to a throne. Every palace was every year the scene of conspiracies, treasons,

revolutions, parricides. Meanwhile a rapid succession of Alarics and Attilas passed over the defenceless empire. A Persian invader penetrated to Delhi, and carried back in triumph the most precious treasures of the House of Tamerlane. The Afghan soon followed, by the same tract, to glean whatever the Persian had spared. The Jauts established themselves on the Jumna. The Seiks devastated Lahore. Every part of India from Tanjore to the Himalayas was laid under contribution by the Mahrattas. The people were ground down to the dust by the oppressor without and the oppressor within, by the robber from whom the Nabob was unable to protect them, by the Nabob who took whatever the robber had left to them. All the evils of despotism, and all the evils of anarchy, pressed at once on that miserable race. They knew nothing of Government but its exactions. Desolation was in their imperial cities, and famine all along the banks of their broad and redundant rivers. It seemed that a few more years would suffice to efface all traces of the opulence and civilization of all earlier age—*Lord Macaulay's Speech on the Government of India.*

(E)

I see that we have established order where we found confusion. I see that the petty dynasties which were generated by the corruption of the great Mahomedan empire, and which, a century ago, kept all India in constant agitation, have been quelled by one overwhelming power. I see that the predatory tribes which, in the middle of the last century, passed annually over the harvests of India with the destructive rapidity of a hurricane, have quailed before the valour of a braver and sterner race, have been vanquished, scattered, hunted to their strongholds, and either extirpated by the English sword, or compelled to exchange the pursuits of rapine for those of industry.

I look back for many years; and I see scarcely a trace of the vices which blemished the splendid fame of the first conquerors of Bengal. I see peace studiously preserved. I see faith inviolably maintained towards feeble and dependant States. I see confidence gradually infused into the minds of suspicious neighbours. I see the horrors of war mitigated by the chivalrous and Christian spirit of Europe. I see examples of moderation and clemency, such as I should seek in vain in the annals of any other victorious and dominant nation. I see captive tyrants, whose treachery and cruelty might have excused a severe retribution, living in security, comfort, and dignity under the protection of the Government which they laboured to destroy.

I see a large body of civil and military functionaries resembling in nothing but capacity and valour those adventurers who, seventy years ago, came hither, laden with wealth and infamy, to parade before our fathers the plundered treasures of Bengal and Tanjore. I reflect with pride that to the doubtful splendour which surrounds the memory of Hasting and of Clive, we can oppose the spotless glory of Elphinstone and Munro. I contemplate with reverence and delight the honorable poverty which is the evidence of rectitude firmly maintained amidst strong temptations. I rejoice to see my countrymen, after ruling millions of subjects, after commanding victorious armies, after dictating terms of peace at the gates of hostile capitals, after administering the revenues of great provinces, after judging the cases of wealthy Zemindars, after residing at the courts of tributary kings, return to their Native Land with no more than a decent competence.

I see a Government anxiously bent on the public good. Even in its errors I recognise a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge. I see tolerations strictly maintained. Yet I see bloody and degrading superstitions gradually losing their power. I see the morality, the philosophy, the taste of Europe, beginning to produce a salutary effect on the hearts and understanding of our subjects. I see the public mind of India, that public mind which we found debased and contracted, by the worst forms of political and religious tyranny, expending itself to just and noble views of the ends of Government and of the social duties of man.

I see evils but I see the Government actively employed in the work of remedying those evils. The taxation is heavy; but the work of retrenchment is unsparingly pursued. The mischiefs arising from the system of subsidiary alliance are great: but the rulers of India are fully aware of those mischiefs, and are engaged in guarding against them. Wherever they interfere for the purpose of supporting a native Government, they interfere also for the purpose of reforming it—*Ibid.*

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